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REVIEW

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The World's Most Significant Thought and Action

The World As It Is

NAZIANA NO. 17

Straight hair is characteristic of men whose thought is rectilinear, well-ordered. It is like an automobile road that cuts straight across the country. Curly hair, on the other hand, is indicative of thought that is twisted and is weighed down by phantasy. . . . The curlier a man's hair, the more entangled is his thinking. And the greater the wave of the hair, the denser the individual's phantasy. The less wave to a person's hair, the less phantastic is his thinking.

Black hair is found in men who are still held close to nature. Blond hair, on the other hand, denotes constructive thought.

A fact that nobody will challenge is that the technical progress, the colonial conquests and the world-wide extension of trade marking our age were accomplished under the leadership of nordics, that is, blonds. That is not a fairy tale. It is a fact that anybody can substantiate.

Then there is the fact that soldiers have stiff hair. Can you imagine a soldier with wavy hair?

—From an article entitled "Science of Man" in the *Westfälische Landeszeitung*, official organ of the NSDAP, No. 187.

A CHARITABLE PRIEST An Anecdote of Christian Charity In the Spanish Rebellion.

A parish priest from one of the villages in this province left with the army operating on the Northern Front, having enlisted as a simple soldier in a corps of Carlist *requetes*. He took part in the fighting and helped to win a signal victory.

The enemy suffered important losses. The socialist troops left 150 prisoners in the hands of the *requetes*. The wounded were given the utmost attention. The prisoners were immediately tried. The soldier-priest confessed the men who were sentenced to die. While the priest was confessing one of the condemned, a plane passed above head and threatened to throw bombs. Taking advantage of this opportunity, the penitent started to run away. But the priest ran after the prisoner, caught him, and putting his arms about the socialist, said: "My son, I have not the right to let you go without giving you absolution, because you are condemned to die, and in several minutes you will be executed."

Then the priest performed his job and the *requetes* theirs.

—From *Heraldo de Aragón* (rebel).

THE FORCES OF LAW AND DECENCY WILL FIX THEM LATER

Deputy Juan Hernández, editor of *Mundo Obrero*, central organ of the Communist Party of Spain, in an interview granted by him to the foreign press and reported in the *Paris-Midi* of August 8:

"As for the anarchists, who prefer the rear-guard to the line of fire, you must not pay too much attention to them. Their intentions are not very clear, but the Spanish people and all its official organisms will rise against them.

"We don't want to know anything about the libertarian communists. Immediately after the victory, they will be fixed right. Meanwhile, it is impossible to take measures against elements that struggle at our side."

ACADEMIC PROMOTION AT HEIDELBERG

"Correspondence of the National Socialist Party" communicates:

The chief of the general staff of the *führer* of the S. A. has just granted a promotion to the rector of the University of Heidelberg, Professor Groh. The latter, who up to now had the rank of "obertruppführer" (squad leader) was named, as for the date of 28th of June 1936, "Sturmführer" (battalion leader).

JEW HUTZLER'S PANTS

The following is the literal account of a case recently tried in the court of appeals at Nürnberg, as it was reported on page 8 of issue no. 169 of the "*Fränkische Kurier*", the most important daily of that illustrious city.

ONE EVENING in December of the past year the 39 year old Jew Hutzler, who lives in Hüttenbach, boarded in the Schnaittach station a train bound for Simmelsdorf. He sat down between two Jewesses with whom he then started to converse. This provoked the protest of another passenger, who mistook Hutzler for an SA man. The passenger came to this conclusion because the Jew, a cattle dealer by occupation, wore high black boots and a pair of pants that seemed to be the pants of an SA man. As they travelled on, the alarmed passenger shared his misgiving with a real SA man who had meanwhile boarded the train. The new arrival examined closely Hutzler's pants, and coming to the same conclusion descended at Simmelsdorf and reported his discovery to the local group leader. The latter immediately mounted his motorcycle and followed the train to Hüttenbach, where he finally spoke to the Jew Hutzler. Hutzler promised that he would dye his pants.

Soon after, these facts were the subject of an investigation held by the district court, which found Hutzler guilty of gross misconduct and sentenced him to six weeks' imprisonment, the highest punishment prescribed by the law in such cases. Hutzler appealed to the Nürnberg-Fürth county court. The case reached the Court of Appeals. As evidence, there lay on the courtroom an apparently well-worn, more or less red brown, pair of pants cut in the form of riding breeches. At the insistence of the court, the accused put on the pants to confront the witnesses. He declared in his defence that he had bought the pants about five or six years ago in a men's furnishing store at Nürnberg. In 1933, at the suggestion of the local group leaders of the NSDAP, he dyed his pants red-brown so as not to make people believe he was wearing the breeches of an SA man and thus avoid the danger of finding his way to Dachau. The passenger who first mistook the accused for an SA man, and the authentic SA man who was called over to examine the pants in the train, as well as the local group leader of Simmelsdorf who rode after Hutzler on his motorcycle, all declared that the pants brought before the court were not the pants that Hutzler wore on the train.

The public prosecutor took, primarily, the position that the pants worn by the accused that evening in December were in fact a different, lighter colored, pair of pants. He argued, furthermore, that should the claim be made that the accused wore the same pants

but undyed, it would have to be proved that the latter had not become light, as a result of constant use, so that they could be mistaken for an SA man's breeches. It was highly impudent of the accused to wear the pants in such a condition. If he considered his pants closely enough, the accused would have to concede that as a result of use the pants would have become as light colored as they were in 1933. In either case, here was a case of gross negligence, which, from the angle of the administration of justice, resulted in a gross misdemeanor. Comparing the punishment with the crime, one had to express the regret that the accused had not been given a higher sentence. For, considering the case from the national-populist viewpoint, there was place here for a severer punishment. Like the original witnesses, so could strangers and foreigners have gotten the impression that an SA man was carrying on a conversation in a train with two Jew-

esses. For all these reasons, argued the public prosecutor, the court ought to reject the appeal of the accused, at his own costs.

The Court of Appeals was of the opinion that on the night in question the accused actually wore the pants introduced as evidence before the court. The court took the position that in the artificial light of the train and in the dim light of the motorcycle lamp the pants might have appeared to be lighter in color than they looked in the light of day. On the other hand, there was no doubt that with time the pants in question must have assumed more and more of the light color that they had before being dyed and they therefore looked more like the pants of an SA man. In the opinion of the court, the accused could not have failed to observe this fact. That he continued to wear the pants in spite of such knowledge, was in the opinion of the court a proof of great insolence. On these grounds the appeal of the accused was rejected without costs.

Where Goes Spain ?

• Roberto

AT THE MOMENT when this is being written, it is felt here that Catalonia may soon go on its own. Much depends on the fortunes of the republican forces in the rest of Spain. Some people fear that Madrid may not be able to withstand the armies of Franco and Mola if it is not helped by other anti-fascist governments. The European powers have ostensibly agreed to adopt strict neutrality in the current civil war. The fact is that the anti-fascist governments—that is, the powers constituting the 1936 renovation of the 1914 Entente Cordiale—will not help their Popular Front brother at this stage of the game for the following two reasons. First, they do not wish to run the risk of pushing ahead the start of the inevitable world conflict. The more time is left for war preparations, the better. (The same reasoning, of course, is followed by the Third Reich and by Italy—the latter is not even certain which side to join.)

In the second place, the "democratic" powers wonder whether the victory of the popular forces over the Spanish militarists will not bring in its wake a "people's revolution." An event of this kind is almost certain to be incited and guided by such organizations as the C.N.T. (the syndicalist National Confederation of Labor) and the F.A.I. (the Anarchist Federation of Iberia). A "people's revolution" will sweep out of power such nationally reliable politicians as Azaña, Giral and Prieto. It will destroy the influence of the C.P.S. group of bonused publicists, the deputies Hernández, Díaz and Dolores Ibarruri (the woman who has been skillfully built up by several publicity stunts under the name of *La Pasionaria*), who have been subsidized to sabotage any revolutionary move beyond a "democratic-bourgeois" republic. A successful "people's revolution," having as its indefinite aim the rule of the workers and peasants of Spain, will pull along the U.G.T. and Caballero (who always changes with the changed grumble of the U.G.T. membership). Such a movement is certain to endanger international property rights and will therefore bring the rightful intervention of all respectable powers. Furthermore, the movement may spread to France, where it will loosen the hold of the present managers of the Popular Front on the masses, and will disorganize the armed might that is now being opposed to the Hitlerite menace by the French State. The spread of the revolutionary movement

to France will have to be combatted by the official partners in the avowed anti-fascist front. This will further muddy the international lineup of democratic allies and tend to give the lie to the anti-fascist issues by the means of which the Entente Cordiale of 1936 is whipping up public opinion in its favor.

Now Madrid may yet defeat the reactionaries and militarists by the sheer weight of the numbers lent to it by popular adhesion. But if Madrid loses, Catalonia may be saved for the allies. A pro-French and pro-British Catalonia, with an important seaport and with island sea-fortresses guarding the entrance to the Gulf of Lyons and the passage from Marseilles to French North Africa, is well worth the expense it may cost either to France or to France and Great Britain. There are no rebels within the confines of the Catalanian *Generalita*. The Catalanian expedition to Aragon may be suspended when necessary. If Franco and Mola win, they will be informed that France and Great Britain will tolerate no aggression against a friendly, independent power as Catalonia.

And great Britain will get the prize it has coveted for a long time—Ceuta.

BUT HERE, too, there is a fly in the ointment. At this time the C.N.T. and the F.A.I. are almost all-powerful in Barcelona and its environs. To understand the influence of these two organizations, we must have a picture of the manner in which Catalonia is ruled today.

The militarist rebellion took place in Barcelona at dawn, on the 19th of July. All the branches of the army participated in the rebellion, excepting the air force. The police, appointed by the local government, also remained loyal. The rebels occupied the military headquarters, hotel Colón and the telephone building, but they failed to occupy the police headquarters. By sundown, the military rebellion was squashed and General Goded was getting ready to go to a better world.

Who suppressed the uprising? The combined might of the workers, air force and the police. Credit for the immediate anti-fascist victory in Barcelona is especially due to the C.N.T. As soon as its membership learned of the rebellion, they marshalled for the fight. Companys' government at first hesitated to arm the

syndicalists. Without waiting to appeal and to expostulate, the C.N.T. "borrowed" arms from certain ships moored in the Barcelona harbor. The C.N.T. members in the air force immediately swung most of the air force into action against the rebels.

The military uprising was overcome in Barcelona. The fighting continued in the rest of the country. The workers organized themselves into anti-fascist militia. At the present time, militia committees have really replaced the usual government as the rulers of Catalonia. These committees attend to public services as well as to the organization of defense. At the head of the local militia committees is the Central Committee of the Anti-Fascist Militia. This Central Committee, like the local committees, is made up of representatives of all the organizations taking part in the anti-fascist fight: the C.N.T., F.A.I., U.G.T., the Republican Left, the Catalonian Esquerra, the Union of Farmers, the various Marxist parties. The supreme authority of the Central Committee rests in the hands of the Commissioners of Defense, to which body is adjoined a delegation representing the regular ("legal") government of Catalonia, which, as evidenced by this arrangement, already realizes that it is no longer the real government of the land. The Commissioners of Defense consult with the General Commission of Public Order and with special representatives of the trade union and political organizations.

The Central Committee has established different commissions which deal with the tasks created by the present events. They are the Commissions of Transport, War, Information, Surveillance, Food, Public Health, and Press and Radio (controlled directly by the secretariat of the Central Committee.) There is also a commission attending to the matter of organizing new militia bodies.

These commissions are presided by men chosen by the organizations represented in the Central Committee. They include, besides the chairman of each commission, the delegates of each component organization. The latter, together with the chairman, execute the work of the commission. So that all steps taken by the Commissions are automatically approved by the organizations forming the Central Committee.

The structure and ramification of the Central Committee is duplicated in the local committees. At present the Militia Committees are the real government of Catalonia because the militia is the only important armed force in the country. That is, the government of Catalonia is right now in the hands of a people's army. Below is the composition of the Catalonia anti-fascist militia as reported in the C.N.T. bulletin during the first week of August:

C.N.T. and F.A.I. (syndicalists and anarchists).....	13,000
U.G.T. (Socialist trade unions)	2,000
Unified Marxist Organizations	3,000
Police and Civil Guard	4,000

As you notice, the police and civil guard is included with the workers' militia. After July 19, the assault guards became very friendly to the C.N.T. They demanded to be furnished with blue denims, which has become the uniform of the Catalonian people's army. It is quite evident that the numerical superiority of the fighting contingents of the C.N.T. and the F.A.I. makes these organizations especially influential in the present committee government.

The rule of the Central Committee has almost replaced completely the "legal" republican autonomous government of Catalonia, headed by Companys. Up to a short while ago, the latter included only representatives of the bourgeois parties. In view of the fact that members of the syndicalist and anarchist organizations abstain from voting, the "legal" government is quite unrepresentative of the population of the country.

Now the advice of the Spanish and French Stalino-communists and their allies of the French General Staff to the "legal" government of Companys is the following. First, do not let the Central Committee of the Anti-Fascist Militia supersede entirely the "legal" republican State apparatus. Second, replace the workers' militia with a regular disciplined, absolutist army. Third, get rid, one way or another, of the anarchist and syndicalist militants.

LET ME BEGIN by considering the last counsel of the wise men.

The guiding minds of the C.N.T. realize that the prestige of the organization will continue to rise if it leads and organizes the complete defeat of the reactionary militarists. That is why they are so interested in the taking of Zaragoza, the chief city of Aragon, where the last congress of the fast spreading C.N.T. was held about a month and a half ago. But the otherwise strictly neutral French friends of Companys are offering special facilities for the transport of syndicalist combatants through French territory from Catalonia all the way to Irún and San Sebastián in the north-east corner of Spain. The hope is that the braves will never return from these, apparently doomed, points and the future independent republic of *Catalá* will be rid of hotheads and firebrands who cannot understand that their first duty in Catalonia is to Stalin, the czar claiming the allegiance of the world's proletariat, and his military allies.

One might say that both here and in Madrid pressure is being brought and clever schemes are thought up by the publicity experts of the Stalinist Foreign Legion to get the syndicalists and anarchists killed off as soon as possible. That, for example, is the obvious intent of the shrewdly provocative interview accorded to the foreign (and domestic) press by Deputy Juan Hernández, manager of the C.P. *Mundo Obrero*, on August 7. Said Comrade Hernández with a smile:

"As for the anarchists, who prefer the rear-guard to the line of fire, you must not attach too much importance to them. Their intentions are not clear, but the Spanish people through its official organisms will fix them. We do not want to know anything about those libertarian communists. They will be attended to the day after victory. Right now it is impossible to do anything against elements fighting at our side."

The following was done to put into effect the second counsel tendered by the heirs of the Russian Revolution to the "legal" State apparatus of Catalonia. Since the Companys government was strictly bourgeois up to a few days ago, and therefore unrepresentative of the population in the present crisis, the thing was to infuse it with "laborism" and "socialism"—but, of course, without running the risk of popular elections, which, at any rate, could under the present circumstances be managed only through the workers' militia. Therefore, three tiny organizations, the Communist Party of Catalonia, the Catalonian Socialist Party and the Catalonian Federation of the Spanish Socialist Party underwent a paper amalgamation to form the Unified Socialist Party of Catalonia (P.S.U.C.), which immediately adhered to the Communist International. Then the ministers of Companys' bourgeois government resigned and a new government was formed including three ministers supplied by the new party. The "legal" government was said to be now partly labor and socialist. It was said to represent all the classes of Catalonia. Suggestions were made that there was no justification now for the sovereignty of the Central Committee of the Anti-Fascist Militia. The maneuver was cleverly executed, though the other labor political party, the P.O.U.M. (Workers Party of Marxist Unification), refused to fall for it, declaring that it would enter only a government that was exclusively labor. Then

the F.A.I. and the C.N.T. put their thumbs down on the scheme, and the P.S.U.C. ministers resigned. For, to repeat, the workers' militia is the ruling power in Catalonia, and the C.N.T. and F.A.I. are most influential in the militia.

BUT THIS FORCE must remain a people's army if the schemes of the *real* politicians of the Entente Cordiale are not to succeed. Companys and his allies in the Stalinist and French general staffs realize that only when this transformation is accomplished will Catalonia be safe from "impractical schemers and wild revolutionists." Companys' "legal" government can only regain its power when the popular militia is replaced with a traditionally absolutist, disciplined army. The supreme question is, therefore: "Army or militia?" France does not recognize the Central Committee of Anti-Fascist Militia. It always negotiates with Companys' government of bourgeois ministers, to whom it addressed its shipments. The "legal" government and its Stalinist and bourgeois backers argue: "You can't win a modern war with militia." (And that appears to be quite true.) Reports, cleverly conceived by the Spanish and Catalan Michael Golds, are spread of the untrustworthiness of the workers' militia at the front. Then the Companys government issued an order to disarm workers who are not already inscribed in the militia. The C.N.T. countered this move with the following warning to the workers: "Under no pretext must you give up your arms!" Then the Companys government called for three classes of conscripts, who were to be given regular barrack training and formed into a regular army. The C.N.T. replied by calling a huge meeting of the young men called to arms by the "legal" State. They were told to refuse to become soldiers but to join, instead, the anti-fascist militia. "Popular Militia—Yes! Barracked, Uniformed Soldiers—No!" declared the Regional Committee of the C.N.T. in its organ *Solidaridad Obrera*.

SOME PEOPLE see in the civil war that is now raging in Spain two opposing sides: 1. the popular forces, having the sympathy, if not the effective aid, of the democratic organizations and governments of Europe; and 2. the militarist and Catholic reactionaries, coached and aided by Mussolini, Hitler and the Roman Catholic Church. This view is essentially incorrect. We have here, in fact, a triangular affair, three sides: 1. the reactionary forces; 2. a popular movement of opposition to reaction, which at the same time reaches, though in a confused and indefinite manner, for an aim located beyond the bourgeois-democratic republic; 3. various elements, administratively important in the defense against military reaction, united by the common decision to stop any attempts of the popular movement to reach beyond the bourgeois-democratic republic. Most influential in the third camp is the combine of the Azaña and Giral republicans and the Communist Party of Spain. Azaña and Giral honestly represent the viewpoint of the progressive, anti-feudal and anti-Church capitalists of Spain. The C.P.S. represents the international interests of the Stalin-General Pétain alliance, whose first desire is to smash any direct or indirect interference with their war preparations. The bonused experts of the C.P.S. continue using the revolutionary phraseology of the Russian communists of 1918-1920 in order to get a good hold on the masses. But they want this hold on the masses in order to keep the latter "sane," that is, harmless to the existing social order. When the bonused professionals of the C.P.S. address themselves to the people they present ideas borrowed from the ideology of the progressive bourgeoisie of Spain, but they season their loans with the red-hot language by which the Communist International sought to acquire a following in Europe before 1934. Thus deputy Dolores

Ibarruru, highly publicized as *La Pasionaria*, reasoning with the Spanish workers and peasants over the Madrid radio on August 8:

"We are now making the bourgeois-democratic revolution, which was accomplished in France a century ago and has as its aim the extirpation of the obscurantism that has hindered the social and economic development of Spain. The communists (C.P.S.) are at the vanguard in this national task. . . . Loyal to their revolutionary ideas, the communists place themselves at the side of the government."

In Spain proper the Stalino-communists have as their immediate task guarding the large Socialist Party from going wrong and neutralizing the "internationally irresponsible" influence of the C.N.T. In Catalonia their job is to save the bourgeois state. (It appears that even Duranty, the Riga nationalizer of women of 1919, has made his appearance in Barcelona.)

The "democratic" powers of Europe, supposed political allies of the Spanish Republic, have washed their hands clean of the Spanish mess. They have declared and are practicing strict neutrality as far as material aid to the republicans is concerned. They will stop being neutral if a republican victory is followed by a people's revolution having as its aim the overthrow of the system. On the other hand, should the militarist rebels be victorious, the dictatorship of Franco and Mola may yet be won over from Mussolini and Hitler on the international field. The British supported dictatorship, now holding Portugal in its grasp, is evidence of what is possible. In any case, Catalonia must be made safe.

When I consider the relative strength of the forces described above, I am obliged to say that if the victory over the militarists does not come soon and is not followed by a renovated revolutionary blaze that will sweep across the Pyrenees, then the victory of the Spanish Thiers of 1936 is inevitable. And our Thiers here may be fascist and militarist, or republican—"communist."

The problem is, of course, not restrictedly Spanish. What happens in Spain depends on the amalgam of forces on the international scene. The minds of the workers and the propertyless of the world are held captive by their masters. Stalin, General Pétain, the reactionary Spanish generals, Hitler Mussolini wield money, modern armaments, power. They are able to do that because they are the masters of the minds of the masses. In backward Spain a glimmer of hope is provided by the existence of a "people's army." But can a popular militia become the efficient war machine of today without losing its character as a people's army? No. Can a popular revolutionary militia defeat an efficient absolutist modern army? Hardly—unless there is a wide-spread social and economic collapse, resulting in the changed outlook of the rank and file and consequent complete disorganization of the absolutist war machine. The odds are overwhelmingly in favor of Stalin, General Pétain, Winston Churchill, Mussolini, Hitler and Franco and Mola.

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Maxim Gorky

• Leon Trotzky

From "Bulletin Oppositzyi," Paris.

GORKY DIED when there was nothing more for him to say. This makes quite bearable the decease of a great writer who has left a deep mark on the development of the Russian intelligentsia and the Russian working class during the last forty years.

Gorky started his literary career as a tramp poet. This was his best period as an artist. From the lower depths, Gorky carried to the Russian intelligentsia the spirit of daring, the romantic bravery of people who had nothing to lose. The Russian intelligentsia was preparing to break the chains of Tsarism. It needed daring. It passed on its spirit to the masses.

In the events of the revolution, however, there was no place for a real live tramp, excepting as a participant in robbery and pogroms. By December 1905 the Russian proletariat and the radical intelligentsia that was bearing Gorky on its shoulders met—in opposition. Gorky did the honest thing. It was, in its way, an heroic effort. He turned his face to the proletariat. The important product of this about-face was *Mother*. A wider vista opened to the writer, and he now dug deeper. But neither literary schooling nor political training could replace the splendid spontaneity of his first creative period. A tendency to cool reasoning made its appearance in the ambitious tramp. The artist began to resort to didacticism. During the years of reaction, Gorky shared himself out almost evenly between the working class, which had then abandoned the open political arena, and his old enemy-friend, the Russian intelligentsia, who had now taken unto themselves a new enthusiasm—religion. Together with the late Luncharsky, Gorky paid his tribute to the vogue of mysticism. As a monument to his spiritual capitulation, we have his weak novel *Confession*.

Deeper than any other trait in the makeup of that extraordinary self-learner was his worship of culture. It seems that his first belated meeting with the lady had seared him for life. Gorky lacked the necessary schooling of thought and the historical intuition that might have enabled him to establish a convenient distance between himself and culture and would have given him the freedom necessary for a critical estimate. In his attitude toward culture there has always remained quite a bit of fetishism and idolatry.

Gorky approached the War with a feeling of concern for the cultural values of humanity. He was not so much an internationalist as a cultural cosmopolite, though one who was Russian to the marrow of his bones. He never attained a revolutionary outlook on war nor a dialectical understanding of culture. But he stood, nevertheless, heads above the patriotic intellectual fraternity of the time.

He received the revolution of 1917 almost in the manner of a director of a museum of culture. He was alarmed. He was in terror of "the savage soldiery and the workers who would not work." He rejoined the left-wing intelligentsia, who approved of a revolution but only if it was free from disorder. He met the October revolution in the role of an outright enemy, though a passive one.

It was very hard for Gorky to get used to the victory of October. Turmoil reigned in the land. The intelligentsia hungered and suffered persecution. Culture was, or appeared to be, in danger. During those years, Gorky distinguished himself chiefly as a medi-

ator between the Soviet power and the old intellectuals. He was their attorney in the court of the Revolution. Lenin, who loved and valued Gorky, was very much afraid that the latter would fall victim to his connections and his weakness, and finally succeeded in having the writer leave the country voluntarily.

Gorky made his peace with the Soviet regime only when the "disorder" came to an end and there was evidence of an economic and cultural rise in the country. He warmly approved the great movement of the masses toward education. In gratefulness for that he even blessed, on the sly, the October overturn.

The last period of his life was undoubtedly the period of his decline. But even this decline was a natural part of his life's orbit. His tendency to didacticism received now its great opportunity. He became the tireless teacher of young writers, even schoolboys. He did not always teach the right thing but he did it with sincere insistence and open generosity that more than made up for his too inclusive friendship with the bureaucracy. Alongside with these human, a little too human, traits existed and predominated the old concern about technology, science and art. "Enlightened absolutism" gets along nicely with service to "culture." Gorky really believed that without the bureaucracy there would be no tractors, no five-year plans, and especially no printing presses and supplies of paper. He therefore forgave the bureaucracy the poor quality of the paper and even the sickening Bysanthism of the literature that was labelled "proletarian."

Most of the white emigration hated Gorky, characterizing him as a "traitor." Exactly what Gorky betrayed is not quite clear. Was he thought to be a traitor to the ideal of private property? The hatred shown to Gorky by the "former people" who once inhabited the *bel-étage* is the most honorable tribute to the great man.

The Soviet press is now piling over the writer's still warm form mountains of unrestrained praise. They call him no less than a "genius." They describe him as the "greatest genius." Gorky would have most likely frowned at this kind of praise. But the press serving bureaucratic mediocrity has its criteria. If Stalin, Kaganovich and Mikoyan have been raised to the rank of genius in their life time, one naturally cannot refuse Gorky the epithet upon his death. Gorky will enter the history of Russian literature as an unquestionably clear and convincing example of great literary talent, not touched, however, by the breath of genius.

Of course, the dead writer is pictured now in Moscow as an unbending revolutionary and an "adamant bolshevik." These are pure inventions of the bureaucracy. Gorky came to Bolshevism about 1905 or so, in the company of other democratic fellow-travellers. He left together with them, without abandoning, however, personal friendly relations with the bolsheviks. He entered the party only during the Soviet Thermidor. His enmity to the bolsheviks during the October Revolution and the Civil War, as well as his support of the Thermidorian bureaucracy, shows quite clearly that Gorky was never a revolutionary. True it is, however, that he was a satellite of the revolution. Bound to it by the inexorable law of gravitation, he turned about the Russian Revolution all his life. Like all satellites he had his "phases." The sun of the revolution sometimes lighted his face. Sometimes it fell on his back. But in all his phases, Gorky remained true to himself, to his peculiar, extremely rich, simple, and at the same time complicated nature. We take leave of him without a note of intimacy, without exaggerated praise, but with respect and gratefulness. The great writer and great man has left his mark on a period of history. He has helped to lay out new historic paths.

Translated by J. Haddon.

Behind the Moscow Executions

• Jonathan Ayres

TOWARDS THE END of August 1936 the international scene was further complicated for all people who clearly or confusedly take a stand against the capitalist system by the news that the trial of the sixteen "former members of the S. U. Communist Party" accused of terrorist activity against the foremost leader of the Soviet State and some of his subordinates terminated in a death sentence for the whole group. The prisoners were given seventy-two hours in which to appeal for mercy to the Central Executive Committee, that is, to the general leader of the Soviet State. But on the 25th of August, twenty-four hours after the conviction, the government press bureau announced to the world that the criminals had been executed in the detention prison near the Foreign Office in the heart of Moscow. All good correspondents cabled to their city editors that it was "one of the boldest Bolshvik moves since the Tsar and his family were put to death in 1918." Earnest fault-finders with the capitalist system floundered even more helplessly in their attempts to formulate for themselves a coherent and plausible explanation of what had happened.

Let us, in spite of the seeming incomprehensibility of the affair, review the pertinent facts now on hand.

To begin with, the tried and executed terrorists included the most illustrious names of the old revolutionary Bolshevik movement. The Soviet State followed up the trial and execution by setting afoot accusations against Tomsky, Rykov, Radek and Sokolnikov and other primary or lesser personages who had figured in the heroic period of Bolshevism. At the same time, there was instituted a general, though less publicized, purge, felling into the dust hundreds of other Bolshevik great and near-great. Executives, writers, artists, trade union officials lost their jobs, were demoted or imprisoned. Here and there discovery was made of factories imperfectly built or wrongly located, of crops retarded and canals dried up as a part of the widely ramified plot. The relatives and friends of the principal criminals and their fellows were taken into custody. The Soviet State was acting energetically and widely to extirpate its inner enemies.

With Lenin stretched out in chemical repose within his glorious mausoleum, with Kamenev and Zinoviev shot in the back as self-confessed traitors, with Tomsky a cowardly suicide, with Rykov and Bukharin under investigation, with Trotsky as the proved chief, the terrorist-fascist instigator, of the nefarious plot against the peace and safety of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, only one man remains standing of the original Politbureau that replaced the rule of the soldiers' and workers' soviets in 1919. And before their execution, before they were shot in the back and were stopped from talking for good, the sorry plotters took the opportunity to describe this remaining man of men as having always been politically and personally correct, noble and far-seeing. They hailed him as the true leader of Russian and world socialism. They confessed that their opposition to him had been actuated by an ignoble, unprincipled thirst for power, which found no justification even in possible differences with the man of destiny as to national and international policy,—though they were quite ready to plunge Russia into unadulterated fascism in order to keep in the saddle once they had climbed aloft over the bleeding bodies of the architect of Soviet socialism and his aides.

The accused themselves presented all the necessary evidence for their conviction. Voluntarily they waived the right to have counsel. They were given a public trial, attended by at least four hundred foreign and local observers. Even a representative of the U. S. government was seated in a corner of the now triply memorable Hall of Nobles. During the court proceedings the defendants were not shouted at. There was not a gesture of intimidation by the judges and public prosecutor. The latter listened to the accused with tolerance that bordered on respect and sympathy. He asked questions but chose to permit the defendants to speak freely, excepting when they appeared to lapse into discourses on party history, in their evident desire to extol Stalin, or when they were about to rage with especial vehemence against the Nazis while describing their own sickeningly base dealings with Himmler's Gestapo. Presenting their pathetically spoken testimony, the convicted criminals vied in accusations against one another. At the same time, they painted themselves blacker, more culpable, more involved in the plot than their fellow accused, seeming almost envious of each other in their claims to guilt.

Zinoviev, the man who was nearest to Lenin in the old Bolshevik organization and was the head of the Communist International, declared with tears in his eyes that as a result of the current plot against the Soviet State he had completed the road that leads from intra-party opposition to counter-revolution and finally to terrorist fascism. Kamenev, a little more composed but no less penitent, analyzed the theoretic bases of the conspiracy, its aims and expectations. He said that the socialist successes of the U.S.S.R. under the incomparable leadership of Comrade Joseph Stalin had made the conspirators despair of ever regaining their old power. They suffered in silence. They could not bear to witness from behind their prison bars (where Kamenev and Zinoviev had been for the last year and a half) the mounting victories of the Stalinist program. They wanted to spoil Stalin's program. They took this attitude out of sheer spite and personal envy of Stalin. Faced with the obvious impossibility—born of the prospering Soviet socialism—of winning a mass following to pit against the towering Stalin, they resorted to conspiracy and terror, to attempts to assassinate the great man and his immediate inferiors, thus hoping to retrieve the reins of leadership in the resulting tumult and disorganization. They were not interested in stealing State power for the purpose of instituting policies different from Stalin's. They were merely interested in acquiring power.

And with this purpose in mind, they entered into an alliance with the illegal, exiled, counter-revolutionary Trotsky (who had been nursing a similar scheme all the while and had been making matters difficult for Soviet diplomacy abroad), and with Trotsky's close associates, Himmler's Gestapo, who would negotiate even with non-Aryans like Trotsky, Kamenev and Zinoviev in order to gain their ends. Himmler furnished passports and money to the foreign Trotskyite intermediaries, and the latter entered the Soviet Union in the capacity of the direct instruments of the terrorist conspiracy. The unprincipled plotters were morally prepared to sacrifice the Socialist Fatherland to Hitlerite conquest. They believed that the outbreak of a world war would facilitate

the success of their black designs. They were quite ready to justify their baseness by referring to Lenin's "sealed train".

But the apparently well laid plot miscarried. It failed for the following reasons.

First, the Soviet Commissariat of Inner Affairs (the former OGPU—whose power, as recently explained by correspondent Louis Fisher, the generous Stalin himself had so gratefully shorn away in the new socialistically democratic constitution that he had personally drafted—), the former OGPU was, as usual, sleeplessly vigilant.

Secondly, the terrorist agents themselves faltered as they were about to murder. One, for example, suffered a change of heart as he brooded over Stalin's unquestionable greatness of heart and vision. Already cognizant that the finger of history was pointing at him and that out of the vistas of time voices were saying: "Judas!", he committed suicide rather than to undo Lenin's work. Some of the accused volunteered the information that Zinoviev and Kamenev planned all the while to kill the immediate instruments of their historic crime so as to hide all traces. Indeed, it was to be the perfect historic crime, as American writers of crime romances or members of the U. S. Commissariat of Inner Affairs would say.

In the third place, luck—that is, what is called by some backward people Providence or the principle or historic tendency of Good and Progress—was on the side of Lenin's quiet, genial, modest, farsighted collaborator and successor. History was against the rapacious, selfish, envious monsters who were ready to sacrifice the peace and progress of the U.S.S.R. to their unclothed lust for power.

The conspiracy of the terrorist-fascist Judases failed completely. At the trial repentant criminals prostrated themselves before Stalin's greatness. Turning to the workers, peasants and tourists of the Socialist Motherland, to the members of their own families, to the proletariat and all honest democratic elements of the earth, the conspirators conjured all concerned to follow Stalin's leadership in complete confidence, spurn any further machinations of the satanic Trotsky, who from the safety of his Norwegian fastness would undoubtedly continue to fashion webs of conspiracy against the U. S. S. R., against Stalin, against the peace of the world, unless stopped in time. And, finally, turning again to their judges, the self-confessed, obviously repentant criminals—all but two—asked, *begged* (they actually pleaded with their judges) to be given a death sentence.

WEAKLINGS MAY blanch and stammer reproach at the hurried execution of the sixteen former members of the C. P. S. U. But is their present guilt any smaller because formerly they assumed some revolutionary importance (essentially inferior to the quiet, unpretentious, unadvertised role played by our Man of Steel, who without ever seeking to rival Lenin's brilliance during the lifetime of the precious Rock of Ages, yet cooperated closely with the dead leader, as is so eloquently suggested by the widely exhibited lithograph showing both political geniuses resting after their revolutionary labors on the same bench in a garden in 1923)? Neither does Benedict Arnold's similarly egocentized activity in the service of the great American revolution condone his later betrayal of the revolutionary cause.

The U. S. S. R. may be compared to a walled city besieged by deadly enemies. On the east slink the wily, oriental Nipponese. On the west threatens Hitler, Hitler of the bloody hands, Hitler of the pitiless purges, power crazed Hitler, who, balancing himself on the shoulders of international capitalism already raises his

mustachioed snout over the parapets of the socialist citadel. (The Soviet credit arrangements with Germany and the agreements of economic reciprocity with Italy should be considered from the angle of Bolshevik realism. Did the Soviet airmen hesitate to save Nobile and his crew from a dire death in the polar regions just because Nobile and his crew were Italian fascists? Neither did Nobile refuse his government's order to go to the U. S. S. R. to build war blimps just because the U. S. S. R. is, as evidenced by its name, socialist. Some people seem to forget that there is something like international reciprocity).

The U. S. S. R. is the world's bulwark against the onslaught of Fascism. Let us pass by with contempt those who indicate that, during the recent sanctions period, the exports of the U. S. S. R. to Mussolini's Italy rose 10%, that Soviet exports to Italy meant the export of oil—do these meddlers expect the Italians to import from the U. S. S. R. cheap editions of the *Communist Manifesto*?—, that Soviet petroleum moved the Italian battleships through the Suez Canal, that Soviet gasoline lifted aloft the air raiders dropping poisonous bombs on the Ethiopian Red Cross stations, that Soviet fuel fed the liquid fire that burned the already tawny soles of the shoeless Abyssinian warriors whom we Bolsheviks, Leninists, Communists have so often compared to Homeric heroes in our appeals for funds to help us stop the rape of crudely armed, helpless Ethiopia. And let us not dignify with attention the malicious befuddlers who attempt to read anomaly into the observation borrowed from official German and Soviet sources (intended only for use in the business world by business men) that in 1935 the Russian Socialist Soviets sent to Nazi Germany 226,000 tons of manganese, the most important raw material for the armaments industry—that is, 52% of the total German imports of manganese,—and that by means of this Soviet manganese Krupp is now fashioning the murderous instruments that will tomorrow strew death and destruction over the fair earth. Some people seem to ignore the fact that there is something like international economic interdependence.

The U. S. S. R. is now the foremost representative of democracy. As such, it is the champion of the last stand of the united democratic forces of the earth against the dark powers of world fascism. (The characters who suggest that both Stalin and Hitler are playing up their respective war menaces in order to stay put in power will yet have occasion to swallow their words. And laughable is the diseased retrospect of certain malicious students of ancient history who assert that Hitler would never have come to power if the Communist International, with the genial Comrade Stalin at its head, had not spread the notion that there was no principle difference between bourgeois democracy and fascism, that the social-democrats and fascists were twins, and that social-democrats were not social-democrats but social-fascists. This is no time for ifs. Stalin, in a philosophical mood, said quite profoundly some time ago: "Different tasks for different situations!")

The thinking workers and intellectuals of the world should ask themselves, with the greatest anxiety, the following question.

With foreign fascism threatening the U. S. S. R. and the other democracies on the globe, is there any time to be wasted in protracted attempts to cure the mad dogs of counter-revolution that rage ravenously on the inside of the besieged socialist city? Kamenev, Zinoviev and some of the other terrorist-fascists now happily out of mischief, had been in prison since Kirov's assassination in 1934. They owned up to their first distinctive terrorist crime both in 1934 and in August 1936. All of them had capitulated to Stalin's superiority before. All had at one time or another saved themselves from inconvenient life in Soviet "isolators" by

publicly recanting all opposition to Lenin's successor, acknowledging that he always was and most probably always will be right, that they were ready to join in and like good fellows work cheerfully with the other Soviet political workers in their common good as heirs of the Russian Revolution. Did Zinoviev and Kamenev and the rest of the crew become any different because Soviet socialist justice was mellowed into Stalinist mercy after their previous crimes? Indeed, the pliant, recanting tricksters, ever ready to confess, to express repentance, to promise to be good, are much more dangerous than their naive, stiff-necked brothers—and sisters—who prefer the inconvenient conditions of the Soviet socialist "isolators" to so-called capitulation. But this time they learned a lesson. The tricksters were tricked, so to speak. They stretched Stalin's tendency to forgiveness a little too far. This time it snapped, and somebody was sure to be hit. If a conspiracy, then an execution. This follows logically. The two are dialectically related. Let undialectic, un-Leninist phantasists suggest that there was merely a cause and effect relation between the two; that, in other words, the conspiracy was made in order to justify executions, which would dispense, once for all with tricksters who are ever ready to confess because they, unlike the bluntly dangerous Trotsky, have the philosophy that they must never be too far removed from the executive machinery of the Soviet State, though they humiliate themselves and kiss the dust of Stalinist forgiveness in order to be taken back.

But Zinoviev, Kamenev and the rest of the terrorist-fascist brood had well answered such malicious insinuations in their capacity as voluntary witnesses at the Moscow trial. Indeed, both were reported to have been quite cheerful, smiled confidently, even bantering on occasions. But their confidence changed to evident anxiety on the last day when something about prosecutor Andrey Vishinsky, the most eloquent speaker in the U. S. S. R., suggested to the culprits that possibly their promises were not fooling anybody now. And the criminals had also spoken for the arch-conspirator Trotsky.

Hardly had the session of August 19 opened, when Zinoviev arose and declared: "I am fully guilty." His colleagues followed suit. Zinoviev was asked by Vishinsky if he organized the plot.

"Yes," he replied.

"Did you plot the death of Sergei M. Kirov?"

"Yes."

"Did you organize the plan to kill Stalin?"

"Yes. I am guilty of every charge in the indictment."

And I am sure if he and Kamenev had been asked by the public prosecutor if, while paying homage to Stalin's greatness in their public declarations, they privately continued to crack jokes and tell funny tales about Stalin's learning, both Kamenev and Zinoviev would have been obliged to answer: "Yes." That is, if they were going to tell the truth. Who could forgive a dirty trick like this? Especially now that every responsible person in the Union and all Soviet schoolboys imitate Stalin's style, his voice, his gestures, his tastes, and institutes of the Russian language study and teach the technique of Stalin's style. So the rotten intellectuals thought that our genial leader was funny and expected to get away with it! But there was nothing funny about August 24, 1936, when the tricksters finally realized they had been tricked.

On August 20, Zinoviev (I am centering on the principal plotters) faced his accusers like a man who sees death and does not care. He was in his old joking mood. He said: "I lied ever since the struggle against the government started (that is, since 1926 or so; by "government" he meant Stalin). But now I am determined

to tell the truth. Trotsky's role in the counter-revolution was greater than mine, although mine was great enough. But, on the other hand, I am guiltier than Trotsky because I was here doing the actual work (telling the funny stories about Stalin, killing Kirov, receiving Himmler's orders, pepping up the actual killers chosen to dispose of the genial leader, etc., etc.). Trotskyism plus terrorism is fascism."

And on the 22nd of August:

"The accusation against me is correct and just," said Zinoviev in a faint, high-pitched voice. "I have no intention of defending myself. I will only make a last statement." He was now just a little suspicious. The affair was no longer so very funny. Yet in the next court session his crony Kamenev warned against Trotsky as an ambitious scoundrel who would remain a danger to the U.S. S.R. as long as he lived, and hailed Stalin as the great leader who had made the dream of socialism a reality.

"Death does not frighten me," he continued. "I already have a ten year sentence hanging over me. To stay in prison and watch the Soviet progress through bars is worse than instant death. I prefer the latter."

So did nearly all the rest prefer death. So did the otherwise pitifully frightened, sobbing old Zinoviev. He now gazed out over his audience with bloodshot eyes and exclaimed: "Once upon a time I was even Lenin's pupil. My name will not enter history now beside the names it once might have been linked with. It will enter history with the name of Trotsky. I who once stood beside the people whose names I dare not mention now, I know the shame of standing beside Lurie and Olberg." All preferred death. They begged for it. All, excepting Lurie and Olberg.

NOW CERTAIN FOOLISH people will repeat with the malicious Boris Suvarine (the former director of *L'Humanité*, the head of the French Communist Party during Lenin's life, the man who was denominated years ago as "Suvarine's Lenin's friend" and was in his day a sort of French Paul Levi but is now uncovered, at the trial, to be the liaison man between Trotsky and Himmler's Gestapo) that the former OGPU had persuaded the accused men to confess to the most extreme charges and then failed to obtain the promised clemency for them. According to others who claim to be in the know, the former OGPU staged a sort of contest for survival among the accused. We used to do that with prisoners in Central American insurrections. But there those captives won themselves relative longevity who had the strongest legs and could most cunningly avoid the bullets let loose from the captain's automatic. The OGPU contest is supposed to be a game in which the prize—life—goes to the man who makes the most brilliant confessions and the most diligent recriminations against the fellow accused. The wise people further say that in his last minute reference to Lurie and Olberg, Zinoviev meant to suggest that Lurie and Olberg were the boys who had performed the "come-on" (agent-provocateur) service for the former OGPU, that the former OGPU might have placed a double cross over Lurie's and Olberg's tombs if crosses were in vogue in a strictly Leninist country like the U.S.S.R. and if Stalin had considered it worth while to perpetuate the memory of traitors with tombstones.

But these are malicious speculations having the single aim of marring Stalin's socialist successes. Trotsky first called it a huge Dreyfuss case. Before being muzzled by the government of the country whose generosity he imposes on, he said: "The executions were necessary to prevent any reprieved defendants from unmasking the OGPU." Let him prove it.

Even if he could fashion a more or less plausible case for himself and his dead co-defendants, the following would still remain true.

The end justifies the means. The end is the construction of socialism in the U.S.S.R. and the safeguarding the regime created by the October revolution against enemies home and abroad. That is the role of the responsible section of the Soviet proletariat which Trotsky calls the Soviet bureaucracy. Trotsky does not find fault with the proposition that the end justifies the means. He laughs at the infantile thinkers who suggest that the choice of means influences and changes the end. Neither does he agree with the superficial critics who have declared the so-called Soviet bureaucracy to be a ruling class. He says: "The falsity of this definition from the Marxist standpoint has been amply clarified by us" (*Kirov Assassination*). Not being a ruling class, they are a part of the Russian proletariat, which rules itself through its most responsible members, the so-called Soviet bureaucracy, in the behalf of the construction of socialism. Neither does Trotsky really doubt that socialism is being built in the U.S.S.R. He calls infantile the superficial thinkers who suggest that capitalist property has not been abolished in the U.S.S.R. but has merely changed hands, that as before the Russian worker possesses only his labor power, which

he sells to a new boss, the State, which exploits him, as his former private capitalist boss did, through the same system of wage labor, the base of capitalist production, for the objective benefit of the so-called bureaucracy. Trotsky points out that the Soviet State is a Workers' State, and workers cannot exploit themselves. And if there is no economic difference between the administrative and managerial strata of the U.S.S.R. and the other Russian workers, then the U.S.S.R. is a Workers' State.

Trotsky finds fault with the choice of means used by Stalin in reaching and safeguarding the end that both of them agree on. Only history will decide whether the August executions did not help to carry the U.S.S.R. from the transition period to the farther end of the first phase of communist society and from that stage to the beatitudes of the second phase.

There are those who explain the August trial and executions in the following manner. There is a fundamental contradiction between 1. the economic and social interests of the Soviet State apparatus, which, aiming to squeeze out more and more of surplus value out of its economic machine, wants to have the workers labor more intensively at a lower real wage, and 2. the workers, who naturally tend to want the contrary, in spite of the fact that

(Continued on Page 135)

Leaders and the Led

• Rosa Luxemburg

Taken from an article that appeared in the Neue Zeit, year XII (1903-1904), No. 2. R. L. describes one of the unavoidable marks of the real movement for socialism.

GOETHE'S "odious majority," composed of several vigorous spellbinders, a few scoundrels ready to adapt themselves to any cause or program, a number of weak souls ever ready to be assimilated, and the great mass "trotting behind without having the least idea of what it wants"—the characterization that the bourgeois pen-pushers would like to fasten to the socialist mass—is no more or less than the classic formula for "majorities" of the parties of the bourgeoisie.

In all the class struggles of the past, waged in the interest of minorities and in which, as Marx said, "development was brought about in opposition to the great mass of the people," an essential condition of action was the ignorance of the mass concerning the real aim, the material content and the limits of the movement. This difference between the "leaders" and the "led" was the specific historical basis underlying the "directing role" assumed by the "educated bourgeoisie." A natural complement to the role played by the bourgeois "leaders" was the part of "followers" left to the mass.

But already in 1845 Marx noted that "with the increasing depth of historic action grows the volume of the mass engaged in this action." The class struggle waged by the proletariat is the "deepest" of all historic actions that have taken place up to now. It takes in all the lower sections of the people. For the first time since the beginning of class society, it corresponds to the interests of the people itself.

That is why the understanding by the mass of its tasks

and instruments is an indispensable condition for socialist revolutionary action—just as formerly the ignorance of the mass was an indispensable condition for the revolutionary action of the ruling classes.

As a result, the difference between "leaders" and the "majority trotting along behind" is abolished (in the socialist movement). The relation between the mass and the leaders is destroyed. The only function left to the supposed "guides" of the social-democracy is that of explaining to the mass the historic mission of the latter. The authority and influence of such "leaders" grows in proportion to the work of education of this kind accomplished by them. Their prestige and influence increases only in the measure that they, the so-called leaders, destroy the condition that was formerly the basis for every function of leaders: the blindness of the mass. Their influence grows in the measure that they strip themselves of their role as leaders, in the measure that they make the mass self-directing and they themselves become no more than the executive organs of the self-conscious action of the mass.

Undoubtedly, the transformation of the mass into a sure, conscious, lucid "self-leader"—the fusion of science and the working class dreamt of by Lassale—can only be a dialectic process, as the working class movement absorbs uninterruptedly new proletarian elements as well as fugitives from other sections of society.

Nevertheless such is and such will be the dominant tendency of the socialist movement: the abolition of the relation of "leaders" and "led" in the bourgeois sense of the word, the abolition of the relation that is the historic basis of all class domination.

Tr. by G.

books

LA REPRESION DE OCTUBRE, Documentos para la historia de nuestra civilización. (The Suppression of October. Documents for the History of Our Civilization.) By Ignotus. Ediciones "Tierra y Libertad," Barcelona. 256 pages, 1936.

WHEN I HAD finished reading Manuel Villar's too factual account of the suppression of the Asturian workers' revolt of 1934, the telegraphed news came that at Badajoz Franco's Moors and Foreign Legionnaires, in their constant role of saviors of most Catholic Spain, were shooting down thousands of prisoners in batches of twenty. The same servants of the Church and civilization helped to do the job in the Asturias two years ago. Ignotus' first work is no sociological treatise. It is a compilation of the testimony provided by a number of the surviving witnesses of the 1934 affair. Many did not dare to talk. But Ignotus' account tells enough. The book should be read by all honest people who believe that God and good are related words. It should be read by all who have faith in the moral evolution of man. It should be read by all who believe that St. Bartholomew's Night and the Inquisition belong to past, backward ages. It should be read by all decent folk who have fits of indignation at the execution of plotting generals, the symbolic offense to sacred pictures and the regrettable destruction of beautiful, old, barricaded cathedrals.

It is understood that the highly horrifying work began when the Asturian miners, and the Spanish workers elsewhere, ceased fighting. You don't gouge out the eyes or crush the testicles of a man who holds a rifle in his hands. You do that when he has listened to reason and dropped his gun and declared himself a prisoner of the forces of religion and civilization. It is then that you start giving object lessons to his wife and children. It is then that you amuse yourself hunting suspects. Let me regale you with some droll tales and we shall pass on to more learned matters.

Leandro Rodríguez García, a suspect, testifies (page 39):

"When Doval (the commander of the Civil Guard, who together with General López Ochoa organized the suppression of the Asturian revolt) saw that instead of signing the accusation I began to read it, he hit me in the face. . . . The policemen were not contented to hit me with sticks. They got an iron bar about as thick as a broom handle and threatened to hit me with it if I did not sign. I refused and they hit me with the bar, tearing open one eye. I was put in irons. They continued to beat me. When I could no longer stand up, two of them picked me up and brought me before the court. Upon my further refusal to sign to my guilt, they gave me two minutes to think it over, saying if I didn't they would kill me. When I answered in the negative, they dragged me into the yard near a wall. There a Civil Guardsman said he was going to 'burn' me if I did not sign. He aimed at me and I told him to fire away. He then said: 'We don't kill your kind with a bullet. That's too easy for you!' He knocked me unconscious with the butt of his rifle. They dragged me back inside. They tore off my clothes and stabbed me with sabres. After hitting me again with the iron bar and their rifles, they twisted and wrenched my testicles till I lost consciousness again."

Juan Sánchez Moro describes his experience with the emissaries of the gentle Jesus:

"They tied my hands behind my back with a rope that was hanging from a beam and raised me a meter from the ground, so

that my body swung from my arms. They stabilized me and two policemen began to beat me, one with a stick, the other with a rifle. This lasted for two hours, during which time they took turns because they got tired hitting me."

The prisoners held in Mieres write:

"Robust, healthy young men have their arms pulled out of joint; their ribs are broken in; their chests and testicles are crushed."

Antonio Vázquez Hevia, 63 years old, is operated on with an iron "glove." "They tore out his moustaches, and hit him in the mouth with a sledge hammer till all his teeth were knocked out." (Page 40.)

Antonio, a seventeen year old boy from Felguera, was hung up with his hands chained behind his back. Then splinters were driven under his finger and toe nails.

Jose Manuel Fernández of Felguera tells how he was dragged by his hair. Then the civilizers danced on him till blood spurted from his nose and mouth. (Page 60.)

And where there is dancing there is sure to be music. So here is another esthetic touch:

"While these terrifying scenes were being enacted in the Monastery of Adoration, in Oviedo, the monks, who occupied the upper part of the building, played the piano in order to deaden the cries of the tortured." (Page 70.)

García Llánez, 17 years old, tells that after suffering the usual tortures, he was made to put his head into a water closet and was then forced to "lick the contents of the spittoons." (Page 135.)

Antonio Díez, 57 years old:

"They spat into our faces. They put us in chains. They stood us up near a water closet. Then they hit us till we fell into the excrements."

There is the interesting case (the information came out in an official inquiry) of a suspect whose testicles were grilled on a red-hot iron. (Page 119.)

José Miranda, Honario Fernández, David Pasado were arrested as suspected insurrectionists. Their bodies were found "mutilated" two days later.

At Carbayín, the soldiery did not want to wait for an "investigation" to separate the reds from the good people. They opened the jail and massacred the prisoners. Fernando García and José Valdes, held in the Gijón jail at the time of their testimony, declared that on the 31st of October, 1934 the victims of Cabayín were exhumed. The dead were found attached to one another with ropes. There follow gruesome details about the condition of the corpses. Some had no noses. The eyes of others were missing. Still others had had their tongues cut off.

It appears that a good number of the murdered were good practicing Catholics and supporters of Gil Robles, bitterly hostile to the insurrecting miners. But mistakes happen in the best of crusades. It was all for the greater glory of the Lord.

José Antonio, a soldier, writes that two officers—he identifies them—"paid ten pesetas for each arm (*limb*) of a revolutionist. . . . The insurrectionists' mouths were sewn up with string. They were then buried alive. That is what happened to Fernando González (page 147), an innocent municipal councillor of Mieres.

A conspicuous name in the Asturian affair of 1934 was that of Ivanov (an assumed surname, which suggests its bearer's origin), a lieutenant of the Foreign Legion. This Ivanov, probably the knight-errant son of an emigré count or baron now opening doors in a Russian Inn of London, New York or Paris, coolly doffed his gloves to kill with his own hands Luis de Serval, a journalist who had been covering the aftermath of the insurrection for a Madrid newspaper. Later, when a change occurred in the government as

a result of new elections, Ivanov was tried and given a nominal sentence, practically an acquittal. Ivanov might have lived to marry an American society deb or charity sponsor. But man proposes and God disposes. As soon as the current reactionary rebellion broke out, the naughty syndicalists got Ivanov. And there are no marriages in heaven.

It is interesting to note that very many of the humble victims of the persecution that followed October 1934 remained in prison long after the Popular Front government took power. So did the soldiers who refused to fire against the workers. Indeed, only on the 23rd of February of this year, the official *Gaceta de Madrid* published a decree announcing the commutation to 30 years of a death sentence pronounced on three soldiers who in October 1934 chose to risk their lives for the Republic. The idealistic Jiménez de Pedreza, a lieutenant-colonel of artillery, who was the chief of the arms factory of Oviedo when it was taken by the miners, was condemned to 30 years of prison for negligence of duty. That is, he was accused of having given the workers arms to defend themselves. He was freed by the Azaña amnesty. But on the 30th of March Jiménez was rearrested under a technical pretext.

On the other hand, the infamous Doval, who organized man hunts, summary executions and tortures in the Asturias, was retired on a full salary, till, of course, his time came to save Spain again. All of which helps to explain the comparative success of the military-reactionary rebellion that is clawing at the heart of Spain at this moment.

EL ANARQUISMO EN LA INSURRECCION DE ASTURIAS.

La C.N.T. y la F.A.I. en Octubre de 1934. (Anarchism in the Insurrection of the Asturias. The C.N.T. and the F.A.I. in October 1934.) By Ignotus. Ediciones Nervio, Buenos Aires. 237 pages, 1936.

VILLAR'S second book does not merely describe (as suggested by its title) the role played by the syndicalist C.N.T. (Confederación Nacional del Trabajo) and its sister organization, the F.A.I. (Federación Anarquista Ibérica) in the October insurrection. It summarizes the past course of the two organizations and gives their program in the present situation. It explains for us, to a great extent, the "collectivization" that has just been effected in Catalonia under the pressure of the syndicalist unions. The book is important because the C.N.T. and its theoretic and practical guide, the F.A.I., are important in the Spain of today. And Spain is in motion. Though practically giving support to the Popular Front government, the F.A.I. has been insisting that the Popular Front cannot save Spain from fascism. They have been proposing to do it their special way. Many Spanish workers now say, "The F.A.I. was always right. The F.A.I. is right."

Communist-Anarchism was a guiding force in the International Workingmen's Association, the "First International." Its importance grew with the eight-hour day and anti-militarist movements of the 80's and 90's. During the peaceful and rather prosperous years between 1895 and 1914 the influence of the anarcho-communists dwindled to insignificance in most countries. By 1918 there was a marriage, so to speak, of anarcho-communism and the Kautskyanism of the social-democracy. The Communist International was the offspring of the union. There is the rumor of talks between Pestafia, the outstanding personage of Spanish anarcho-syndicalism in 1919, and Lenin. Pestafia is said to have told Lenin that the latter was fooling himself and the workers of the world; that willy-nilly Lenin's kind of "proletarian dictatorship" would result in the most perfected and tyrannical bureaucratic-military machine the world had ever seen.

In Spain anarcho-communism has thrived—on relentless strike and political (insurreccional) activity, which did not let up from 1909 to date. The C.N.T., the General Federation of Labor, was their mass instrument, the F.A.I. the guiding inner organization.

The F.A.I. declares that it stands theoretically on the experience of all the popular emancipatory movements of the last 150 years. The anarchist idea, it claims, figured in the French Revolutions of 1790 and 1848, in the Paris Commune, in the Russian Revolution. The F.A.I. position is said to be a development of the lessons of these events. Here are the principal articles in its credo:

1. Armed insurrection.
2. The general strike, as the first step toward armed insurrection.
3. The replacement of the bureaucratic State apparatus with a system of federated popular councils (in practice, the syndicalist trade unions), which are to take charge of production and distribution.
4. The armed defense of the victorious revolution on the basis of a people's militia.

The F.A.I. points out that this program characterized the popular tendency that made the Russian Revolution, and that only by 1920 was it surpressed by the Bolshevik dictatorship. Martov, the outstandingly honest figure among the Russian Marxists (his works still await popularization) has pointed out how much of the traditional theory and phraseology of anarcho-communism was been appropriated by the rearmd Bolshevism of 1917. According to the F.A.I. theorists, certain parts of the program of anarchism has been made use of by the Bolsheviks in order to get into power. When they consolidated their hold, the Bolsheviks destroyed the power of the popular councils, and established the highly bureaucratic State that is fraudulently labelled "soviet."

The Bolshevik government, say the editors of the book, has rewritten the history of the first three years of non-Tsarist Russia in order to guard the population of the country against dangerous ideas. The history of the Asturian insurrection teaches, in its way, the lessons that could be drawn from an honest history of the vaster Russian Revolution.

Two basic ideas are emphasized in the book; 1. the deadening effect of bureaucratic centralization in a popular insurrection; 2. the practicableness of an immediate "libertarian" organization of production and distribution by the trade unions without the intervention of the State. These two "lessons" are presented in contrast to the centralism and State control proposed by the Spanish social-democrats.

The Asturian insurrection took place more than three years after the establishment of the republic. By October 1934 the government of the country had passed from Azaña to Lerroux and Martinez Barrio, then to Lerroux and Gil Robles. The reactionaries won on the electoral field because liberal republicans were slow in carrying out their promises of social reform. But the reactionaries, in turn, did not fail to lose popular support. Peasants and workers were driven to desperation. The brave stand of the Austrian social democrats kindled courage in the Spanish social-democracy. The S.P.S. concluded that only by the way of armed insurrection could further reaction be stopped in Spain. The party made a common front with the liberal republicans and the Catalanian autonomists, and prepared to fight.

No invitation to collaborate in the revolt was held out to the syndicalists and anarchists. The C.N.T. had suffered grievously as a result of Primo de Rivera's repressions, as a result of Azaña's

and the other governments' armed insistence on the compulsory arbitration of industrial disputes. It was bled white by its own insurrection of January 1933 and a number of lesser attempts.

The first act of the autonomist allies of the S.P.S. in Barcelona was to shoot up the C.N.T. headquarters and arrest syndicalists. In July 1936, the F.A.I. and the C.N.T. formally applied to the *Generalitat*—the government of Catalonia—for arms and equipment. They were refused, though the Catalanian democrats might have known that the military insurrection could only be fought with the characteristic heroism of the workers. The syndicalists then "borrowed" arms from ships in the Barcelona harbor, whereupon the Government was obliged to recognize the workers' right to defend the Government. In October, 1934, however, the C.N.T. did not get arms, and Companys and his crowd surrendered to the military in a few hours. The Catalanian allies of the S.P.S. did all their fighting against the syndicalist workers.

In Madrid the social-democratic officials carted out arms to public places but there was little fight in their followers. The arms were promptly collected by the authorities. In the Asturias, however, a certain understanding was reached among the syndicalist and social-democrat workers' organizations—but only after the chances of successful action were shattered by the early refusal of the social-democratic functionaries to give arms to syndicalists and their command to concentrate on Oviedo, which opened all approaches to the region from the coast. The S.P.S. desertion of the practically unarmed syndicalists who were fighting in Gijón on the coast permitted Ochoa's African troops to enter the district and precipitated the defeat of the insurrection. The social-democrats suffered greatly from the kind of discipline that has all local activity mark time till orders have arrived from a central committee. Worker solidarity came in battle and defeat. When they could no longer hold Gijón with their makeshift weapons, the syndicalists marched out to aid their social-democrat brothers in Oviedo. In Felguera they took over the factories and immediately organized the production of armored cars and artillery for common use in the insurrection.

The Asturian insurrection saved the democratic republic. A government that has lost popular support cannot remain indefinitely at the top though it may stifle the expression of public opinion. In such a case, insurrection becomes the mouthpiece of public opinion. The Asturian October was a challenge thrown into the face of a government that was rapidly losing the backing of the population of the country. The repression that followed the revolt helped to focus the revulsion of Spain at the dishonesty and clerical reactionarism of the Lerroux and Gil Robles outfits. In that sense, the Asturian insurrection prepared the victory of the democratic forces in the elections of February 1936.

Ignotus sees in the experience of October 1934 the historic proof of the correctness of the F.A.I. program. According to him the Social Democracy of Spain is marked at the present time by two great tendencies: a revolutionary tendency, expressing the popular discontent with the existing social order and the national reaction to the menace of fascism, and a reformist tendency, which still clings to the traditional social-democratic habit of collaboration with the bourgeoisie and respect for legality. The first tendency, exemplified in the October revolt, is alien to the outlook of the Spanish social-democracy. It naturally belongs, says Ignotus, to the libertarian (anarcho-communist) movement, which, he does not doubt, has an historic mission to perform in Spain:

"Anarchism needs to reconstruct its forces. It needs to prepare to play in the history of Spain the role that rightfully belongs to it by reason of its importance and unequalled activity. The real

interests of the proletariat call for the establishment of a society of free producers. A society in which the government of men will be supplanted by the administration of things. A society in which the producers administer the economy through their own organs. A society in which the productive process is entirely in the hands of the trade unions. A society which excludes the tutelary intervention of the parasitic and tyrannical State and assures the normal development of man and the collectivity of man in all liberty.

"We are menaced by fascism. Fascism is advancing from below as well as from the heights of State power. Fascism has already conquered the first positions. It will not give way voluntarily. The proletariat needs to give battle to fascism. The chief reason is the categorical imperative of self-preservation. The triumph of fascism means slavery, tyranny, war. But only by revolution will this return to the Middle Ages be stopped. After its insurrectional experience in behalf of the Republic, after it has gathered its forces and drawn its lessons, the proletariat will organize for the final battle. The dilemma is not: *democracy or fascism*. The dilemma is: *revolution or fascism*. It is a contest between a dying world and a new society that is fighting to come into the light of day. The proletariat should not utilize its forces in order to maintain the capitalist status quo. It should prepare to overthrow the capitalist status quo."

One might say that this sounds strangely like the C.I. (the Moscow Communist International) before its Congress of the summer of 1934.

Not quite. The C.I. before 1934 attacked democracy as such. Stalin lent his name to the dicta that there was no essential difference between bourgeois democracy and fascism, that the social-democrats and fascists were twins of a kind, that the rightful name for a social-democrat was "social-fascist." Ignotus does not attack democracy. He emphasizes the need of revolution in Spain.

Ignotus would remark (I am paraphrasing an F.A.I. writer) that the Foreign Legionnaires of the Russian State spoke that way as long as that line of talk served the diplomatic needs of the power they represented in the world arena. Before 1933 an earnest fight against capitalism might have brought turmoil in the West. A revolution in Western Europe would have, in the first place, disorganized the market to which the growing capitalism of the so-called U.S.S.R. is tied. In the second place, a revolution in the West might have roused the dormant revolutionary elements in Russia itself. The Soviet State, which drapes itself in the red flag and sings litanies to the World Revolution, would have been put on the spot, so to speak. Therefore, the Russian Foreign Legion used the ultra-scarlet "third-period" lucubrations of the Kremlin in order to sabotage the unity of the workers in the West and thus preclude the possibility of revolt.

But the situation has changed. It has changed quite contradictorily as a result of the very "third-period" stand of the C.I., which helped to produce Hitler, who now menaces Russia with war. It took six months for the Kremlin to realize what had happened. The business favors showered on the new German government did not win Hitler's friendship. The Nazis themselves needed a foreign "menace" with which to scare the German people and thus remain in power. The bugaboo of a "bolshevist menace" was just cut out for the Nazi politicians. The Soviet statesmen in their quest of safeguards then rushed in another direction. A military pact with France and democracy. And in chorus the Foreign Legion changed their song and started to bawl for democracy. Support the U.S.S.R. and allies in the coming war, in the name of democracy! Aid was given to the formation of popular fronts against reaction. Wherever the Russian Foreign Legionnaires were permitted to do so the

popular front also masked a united front with the bourgeoisie and imperialism. Indeed, in France the People's Front is being changed by the Bolsheviks into a *French Front* of unity with General Petain and the militarist Right.

The stand of the F.A.I., would say Ignotus, is not a subterfuge used by politicians to serve their *real* needs in the game of *Weltpolitik*. The position taken by the F.A.I. is corroborated by the immediate situation facing Spain and the Spanish proletariat. At this moment, the F.A.I. is showing what it means in Catalonia. Is it the beginning of the second "social experiment" of the century?

THERE ARE two questions that I should like to pose for Ignotus' reflection and reply.

1. Is it possible that the Russian soviets were so easily suppressed by a party bureaucracy as instruments of government because of their imperfect character as representative bodies? 2. How will you guard against the emergence of the bureaucratic State apparatus in Catalonia? The exigencies of defence seemed to bring one into being. I recall the words of Simone Weil (*War and Revolution*, no. 6, 1936, INTERNATIONAL REVIEW):

"Revolutionary war is the grave of revolution. And it will be that as long as the soldiers themselves, or rather the armed citizenry, are not given the means of waging war without a directing apparatus, without police pressure, without exceptional jurisdiction, without punishment for deserters. Once in modern history was a war carried on in that way—under the Paris Commune. Everybody knows with what results. *It seems that revolution engaged in war has the choice of either succumbing under the murderous blows of counter-revolution or transforming itself into counter-revolution through the very mechanism of the military struggle.*"

I do not dare to approach the problem whether the existing economic factors permit the development of a self-contained "libertarian" Catalonia or must oblige the apparently new social order to become a part of the dominant old order. (It seems that Rosa Luxemburg points at an uncomfortable truth in her discussion of cooperatives.) In connection with my two questions which I hope Ignotus will answer in the pages of the INTERNATIONAL REVIEW, I should like to quote from *Destruction or Conquest of the State*, a strange, rather prophetic essay written by J. Martov in Moscow, in 1919:

"Lenin used certain indefinite formulæ contained in *The Civil War in France*. These formulæ were sufficiently motivated by the immediate necessity for the General Council (of the International Workingmen's Association) to defend against its enemies the Commune, directed by the Hebertists and the Proudhonians. These formulæ efface almost completely the margin existing between the conquest of political power of the Marxists and the destruction of the State of the anarchists. On the eve of the revolution of October 1917, in his struggle against the republican-democratic tendencies and slogans adopted by the socialist parties, Lenin used these formulæ whip together in his theses of *State and Revolution* as many contradictions as were found in the heads of all the members of the Commune—Jacobins, Blanquists, Hebertists, Proudhonists and anarchists. Objectively—Lenin himself was probably not aware of it—this was necessary in order that the attempted creation of a State machine, *very similar* in structure to the recently displaced military and bureaucratic form, and dominated by a party having few adherents, could be presented to the masses, then in revolutionary ebullition as the birth of a new society based on the minimum of coercion and discipline, as the birth of a society *without a State*. At the time when the very

revolutionary-minded masses were concretising their emancipation from the ancient yoke of the former State in the shape of "autonomous republics of Cronstadt" and the quite anarchist "worker control"—the "dictatorship of the proletariat and the poorest peasants" (incarnated in the actual dictatorship of the "real" interpreters of the latter, the elect of Bolshevik communism) could consolidate its position only after it had dressed itself in this anarchist and anti-State ideology. The formula of "all power to the soviets" was found to be most appropriate for giving mystic expression to the tendency that animated the revolutionary elements of the people at that time, for setting afoot the following two contradictory aims: 1. the creation of a machine that would crush the exploiting classes, for the benefit of the exploited, and at the same time, 2. liberation from all State machinery that represents the necessity of subordinating the will of individuals or groups to the will of the entire social entity.

"The origin and significance of the 'soviet mysticism' are not any different in the countries of Western Europe at the present stage. In Russia itself, on the other hand, the evolution of the 'Soviet State' has already led to the creation of a new and very complicated State machine, based on the division of functions between the 'administration of individuals' and the 'administration of things,' based on the opposition of 'administration' to 'self-administration,' based on the opposition of the 'functionary' to the 'citizen'—divisions and antagonisms that parallel exactly those that characterize a capitalist State. (This was written in 1919. Martov died in 1924. If he could see the Soviet State model 1936!)"

"The economic regression produced during the war has *simplified* economic life everywhere. As a result of this, the problem of distribution and consumption has eclipsed the the problem of production in the consciousness of the masses. This phenomenon encourages in the working class the rebirth of certain illusions according to which they believe that it is possible for them to take hold of the national economy by placing the means of production directly—that is, without the intervention of a State—in the hands of certain groups of workers ('worker control,' 'direct socialization,' etc.)

"On the basis of these resurrected economic illusions, we see rise again the illusion that it is possible to realize the liberty of the laboring class not by the *conquest* of the State but by its *destruction*. These illusions push the revolutionary labor movement back toward the confusion, the lack of preciseness, the ideologic immaturity that characterized it before the Commune of 1871.

"On one hand, the extremist minorities of the socialist proletariat make use of these illusions, of this lack of maturity. On the other hand, they are themselves slaves to these illusions. They are acting under the influence of this double factor when they try to find a practical means, using which they hope to avoid the difficulties bound to the realization of an authentic class dictatorship—difficulties that have become more formidable since the class in question has lost its unity in the course of the war and is not capable of waging an immediate combat having revolutionary aims. In the final analysis, the anarchist illusion of the destruction of the State really masks the tendency to concentrate the State power of coercion in the hands of a minority which believes neither in the objective logic of revolution nor in the class consciousness of the proletarian majority, and certainly not in that of the national majority. The idea that the 'soviet system' amounts to a definitive rupture with all anterior, bourgeois, revolutionary forms serves, therefore, as a screen for the use—*imposed* by exterior factors and by the inner conformation of

the proletariat—of methods that have characterized bourgeois revolutions, which have always been accomplished by the transfer of power from one 'conscious minority leaning on an unconscious majority to another identically situated minority.'

And that, you must agree, has been the story of revolutionary Russia.

How the Spanish Fleet Was Saved for the Republic

From "El Socialista," Madrid.

ON FRIDAY, July 17, toward evening, there began to circulate in Madrid rumors of a military uprising in Morocco.

The same day, at ten o'clock in the morning, the radio station of the naval base at Cartagena communicated to the central radio service of the navy, situated at Ciudad Lineal in Madrid, a circular proclamation issued by General Franco, which was supposed to be transmitted directly to the radio offices of the Madrid and other garrisons in the province. In this proclamation, General Franco announced that he had put himself at the head of an uprising by the Moroccan troops, the purpose of which, he added in the well known style of fascist proclamations, was to save the honor of Spain from the Marxist policy of the Popular Front.

The message from Cartagena was received by Benjamin Balboa, a non-commissioned officer in the radio-telegraph service at Ciudad Lineal. Happily for the Spanish people, Balboa was an honest worker and a fervent republican. Realizing the graveness of Franco's uprising and the danger of transmitting the message to the Madrid garrison, Balboa immediately sent the information to the secretary of the Ministry of the Navy.

Balboa acted quickly. As soon as he received the message, he reproached the radio operator of the naval base for sending on a proclamation that was capable of provoking a frightful civil war. His colleague from Cartagena answered that he agreed with Balboa about the gravity of the act, but he was only obeying the strict orders of the naval chiefs. "Furthermore," he added, "the same message has already been transmitted to the military and naval authorities of Port-Mahon."

As we already said, Balboa put the Secretary of the Ministry of the Navy in touch with the situation. The latter asked the radio operator to communicate to him immediately the full text of Franco's proclamation.

But at this moment, there appeared on the scene a new character, who was all the while about 100 metres from the radio operator's booth, in an office devoted to the naval service. Let us provide his name for a future anthology of traitors: Castor Ibáñez Aldecoa, naval captain.

Entering Balboa's office at the very time when the operator was communicating with the secretary of the Ministry of the Navy, Aldecoa, an anti-republican, understood immediately that Balboa was playing false to the interests of his clique. As soon as Balboa had hung up on his promise to communicate to the ministry the full text of Franco's proclamation, our swivel chair captain, and one hundred percent fascist, told Balboa, his inferior, that before being communicated to the Ministry of the Navy, the information should be given to admiral Salas (the former Minister of the Navy in the Lerroux government). More, Aldecoa himself took the receiver and communicated Franco's proclamation to Salas.

Admiral Salas, also an anti-republican, advised Aldecoa that

Franco's proclamation was to be communicated immediately to all the garrisons of the metropolis before the government had time to take the necessary measures of defense.

The captain answered: "You do it." When the admiral insisted, Aldecoa explained: "I cannot. I have near me a scoundrel who wants to spoil things for us." The "scoundrel" in question was, of course, Balboa.

After hanging up, Captain Aldecoa ordered the entire personnel of the radio station to use only one of the three telephone lines in the building. That line he himself could control from his private rooms.

But he underestimated Balboa. As soon as the captain left, the non-commissioned officer, in his turn, ordered the personnel to use the two other lines for all future telephonic communication. And he himself immediately telephoned the Ministry of the Navy about the incident.

Meanwhile, matters were developing fast. Most garrisons had already revolted. At one o'clock in the morning (Saturday, July 18), Ibáñez Aldecoa, tired of waiting at his private telephone which did not function as a result of Balboa's counter-order, left his apartment and went to the radio station at Ciudad Lineal. At the door of the station, he stumbled into the non-commissioned officer.

Furious, the swivel-chair captain shouted: "So you refuse to execute my order. I put you under arrest. Get inside and don't dare to get near the broadcasting apparatus."

Instead of obeying, Balboa answered: "Sorry, captain, but I have my duty to perform. I am here to defend the Republic against persons like you, who betray it. It is you whom I forbid to get near the broadcasting machinery."

And Balboa took out his revolver and ordered the captain to move on. He locked the captain in his apartment, and ran to the Ministry of the Navy. Aldecoa was arrested in a half an hour.

The radio station, controlling the entire fleet, was now in safe hands. Without losing a moment, Balboa tried to get in communication with the battleships anchored in the Mediterranean ports. The first vessel he could communicate with was *Ferrandis*, which had left Ceuta for Algeciras with a company of soldiers on board.

"You are being fooled. It is a question of a fascist military move against the Republic. Arise against your officers," radioed Balboa to the crew. The radio operator on *Ferrandis* answered: "Impossible now. We have troops on board ship. But as soon as the soldiers will have disembarked at Algeciras, we shall arrest our officers." And that is what took place when the *Ferrandis* was again on the high seas.

Balboa also got in touch with the crews of the warships at Cartagena, Málaga and Valencia. All arrested their officers and telegraphed to the radio station at Ciudad Lineal that "the navy was at the disposal of the government."

It is not hard to imagine what would have happened if the traitors had succeeded in using the navy for their criminal plan.

BEHIND THE MOSCOW EXECUTIONS

(Continued from Page 130)

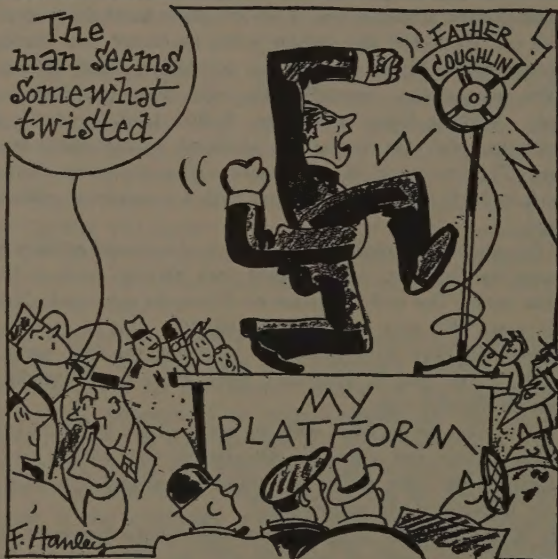
by means of the Soviet schools, press, theatre, books, radio and other means of social control, the new generation has apparently been brought to believe in the identity of its interests with those of the State apparatus. From the side of the workers, this contradiction expresses itself in idling on the job, sabotage, and a tendency to petty terrorism exercised on foremen and third-rate officials. Sometimes this terrorism strikes a personage as highly

placed as Kirov. As far back as 1928 Zinoviev and his entourage encouraged the illusions of the simple-minded "left equalitarians," who in the name of socialism grumbled at the great and growing differences in income between the workers and their managers, which any Soviet professor of Marxism will tell you merely shows that the U.S.S.R. is fast on the way to the final phase of communism.

Now a wholesale execution would scare into good behavior the petty terrorists active about the factories. (The law of the 8th of April 1935 providing the death penalty for criminals over 12 years of age did not seem to be very effective.) And a wholesale execution would blot out the old-timers of the Revolution who might have become the poles of popular opposition in time of national stress, say, during the coming war. But what is principally suggested here is that surplus value is still produced in the U.S.S.R., that there is struggle of classes in the country of socialism. But Trotsky himself had so well explained that there are no classes in the Soviet Union (the remaining capitalists are small individual peasants and private cobblers, etc.) How can you have a class struggle without classes?

It is too bad that a growing number of superficial critics and infantile thinkers, as Trotsky would say, fail to agree with Emil Ludwig's, Stalin's and Trotsky's idea of socialism, of the exploitation of man by man and of classes. But I shall deal with the subject of socialism and its construction in the U.S.S.R. in the next issue, if I am permitted to do so in a little more serious vein. At the same time I hope to annihilate A. Rudolf's criticism of the Soviet Union.

The
man seems
somewhat
twisted



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THE TRIAL • Ernst Toller

From "Neue Weltbühne," Praha, Czechoslovakia.

DO YOU WANT anything else?" asked the Gestapo official.

The youth's empty eyes turned to the grated window which cut the sky into blue squares. In the yard rose a chestnut tree heavy with brown fruit. "Chestnuts," he thought, "sweet chestnuts, good to eat. When ripe, they fall into your mouth. 'I could eat myself full of chestnuts. If I could get away from here!'"

"Did you understand what I said?" asked the official. "Do you have another wish?"

Did he have another wish? He had only wanted to get away from them. He only wanted to save himself from being beaten, kicked, spat on. Would he have jumped out of the window in fun?

"Perhaps you would like to see your mother—before you die?"

That was the word. Die. "Why must he say it? I know. I must die. Not so nice to say it to my face. He—the man with the job—will not die. He will soon leave for his home. Yes, I should very much like to see my mother once again." The boy regarded the official without seeing and nodded.

"I have already sent for your mother. She will soon be here. But I must first ask you to answer one question. Who gave you the handbills?" The official waited.

"So that is it, that's it," thought the youth. Nausea filled his throat. They had put a gag in his mouth to keep him from shrieking. And now he was expected to shout to betray his comrades.

"I will not betray."

"Think of your mother."

The youth looked at the ceiling.

He lived four more hours. Many questions can be asked in four hours. One every three minutes, makes eighty. This was an efficient official. He understood his job. He had liquidated many cases; quite a number were those of men at the point of death. There are tricks to the game. At some you shout; to others you coo. This one yields to threats, the other to patting and kind talk.

"You know I want to help you," said the official. But the young man no longer heard shouted or whispered questions. He died without talking.

The next day the newspapers printed the following brief notice:

As an official of the Gestapo was about to arrest the young worker T. in Stuttgart for distributing seditious handbills, the latter threw himself out of the third story window of his home. His backbone broken, he remained lying in the courtyard of the house. After several days, he died in the police cell of the hospital.

Translated by H. J.

Omitted from this issue due to pressure of Spanish and Execution copy: **TRADE UNIONS, COOPERATIVES AND POLITICAL DEMOCRACY** by Rosa Luxemburg and **WHY NEW SOVIET CONSTITUTION?** by M. Ivon. Both articles will be found in the forthcoming issue, which will appear about the middle of October. . . . Subscribe, get your acquaintances to subscribe, to make possible a larger **INTERNATIONAL REVIEW**. 8 issues for \$1. P.O. Box 44, Sta. O, New York, N. Y.